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Clum, Woodworth

Making socialists out of college students

Los Angeles

[1920]

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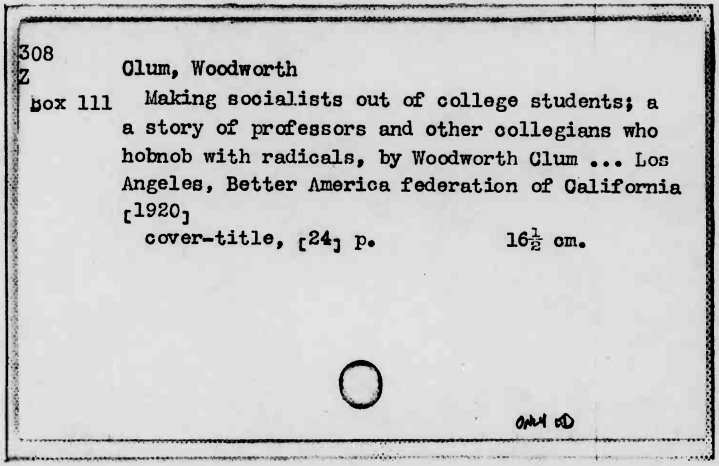
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Making Socialists out of College Students

A Story of Professors and other Collegians Who Hobnob With Radicals

By Woodworth Clum

Western Reserve University, 1900

Published by the

BETTER AMERICA FEDERATION OF CALIFORNIA

724 S. Spring St., LOS ANGELES

"I WANT no mere puttering reforms," writes Professor Calhoun. "If the radicals will stick for ultimates and confiscation, I'll stay with them. One of the things that will hasten the revolution is to spread the notion that it *can* come soon."

What do you think of that—you American mothers and fathers who are sending your boys and girls to our American colleges?

How does it impress you business men who own property?

I know your first answer. You say that if Professor Calhoun really wrote such stuff—and really believes it—he should be expelled from the college where he is teaching.

But if you were convinced that other professors, ex-professors and college graduates, representative of leading educational institutions in America, are preaching much the same doctrine, and are members of a society that has assumed leadership in endeavoring to co-ordinate the campaign of the Russian Soviets, the I. W. W.'s, the Communists and practically all the other extreme radicals in this country,—*what would you do about it?*

Immediately following the general election in November, 1920, Associated Press news dispatches carried a story to the effect, that in the faculty at Stanford University, four professors had voted for Debs and three for the Farmer-Labor ticket. A call issued for a meeting of the "Debs for President Club", on the campus at the University of California, is reported to have brought out three hundred students. The Socialist vote in California in 1916 was 43,259 and in 1920 approximately 70,000. In the nation the complete Socialist vote in 1916 was 585,113 and in 1920 approximately 2,000,000. At least another million Socialist votes went to the Farmer-Labor Party, the Non-Partisan League, and the Socialist-Labor Party.

If such a program is actually being carried out, it is about time for real, red-blooded Americans to wake up,—isn't it?

The bomb-throwing, bullet-shooting anarchist does not worry me very much. It is the *subtle, highly intellectual, pink* variety that is boring into the very heart of America. Such tragedies as the explosion in Wall Street on last September 16th are horrible—monstrous, but they will never halt our progress as a people. America will carry on, despite Czolgolz, Tom Mooney, the McNamaras and their tribe. But when I find a slow poison being secretly and successfully injected into our body politic through the *class rooms*, I do worry—*and so should you.*

I have kept rather close tab on the trend of radical thought and action for the past few years, but when Professor A. W. Calhoun's original letter to Professor Zeuch came into my possession, I was astounded. Calhoun, at the time was of the faculty of Ohio State University, at Columbus. Zeuch was a professor at the University of Minnesota. A photo-static copy of the letter appears on the opposite page hereto. Read it carefully. Note the sinister emphasis, particularly where Professor Calhoun says, "I wonder how many of his students draw the *'necessary'* conclusions?" He is referring to the students of Professor N. S. B. Gras, also of the faculty of the University of Minnesota.

The "Hayes" mentioned in Calhoun's letter is Professor E. C. Hayes, of the University of Illinois, department of sociology.

Calhoun says "Grose saw Ross at Madison," and "Ross had some hand in the game." He is discussing Professor E. A. Ross, head of the department of sociology, University of Wisconsin, and editor of the American Journal of Sociology (which has an extensive circulation among the colleges of this country).

Do not overlook the significance of that last paragraph in Calhoun's letter. Beals was a Congregational minister prior to becoming a circulation agent for the "Bolshevist magazine."

And now that some of the names have been identificd for you,—read that Calhoun letter over again. Does it not stir something in your very soul? Am I right when I say there is a job ahead for all of us who love America?

However, that Calhoun letter is *merely the introduction* to this tale of pink professors, and their fellow-workers in the effort to undo America.

PROFESSOR CALHOUN'S REMARKABLE LETTER

55 E. Norwich Av., Columbus, O., July 29

Dear Zeuch.-

I think I accept all you say aboutthe condition of the proletariat and the impossibility of the immediat revolution. But I am less interested in the verbiage of the LeftWing than in the idea of keeping ultimates everlastingly in the center of attention to the exclusion of mere puttering reforms. One of the things that will hasten the revolution is to spread the notion that it can come soon. If the Left Wing adopts impossibilist methods of campaign, I shall stand aloof, but if they push for Confiscation, Equality of Economic Status, and the speedy elimination of class privilege, I shall go with them rather than the yellows.

If Gras is doing what he says and I am doing what he says, he is right in saying that he is doing the better job. I wonder, however, how many of his students draw the "necessary" conclusions: and I wonder whether I do all my students' thinking for them.

Ellery is feeling at Columbus and also at Illinois. I had a letter from Hayes about him.

I have accepted the professorship of Sociology at De Pauw University. The job pays $2200 this year with assurance of $2400 if I stay a second year. The president has been here three times and had long interviews with me. Besides we have written a lot. I told him I belong to the radical Socialists. I expounded my general principles on all important points. He knows also of the circumstances of my leaving Clark and Kentucky. He says he is in substantial agreement with most of what I have said and that he sees no reason why I can not get along at De Pauw. He says he feels confident it will be a permanency. Ross had some hand in the game. Pres. Grose interviewed him at Madison last week and Ross wrote encouraging me to take the place. I did not make any great effort. Grose knew that I did not care much one way or the other. He took the initiative almost from the start and I sat back and waited. I'm afraid Greencastle is too small to do much with the co-op. Population 4000, 30 miles north of Bloomington. 600 students, mostly in college, a few in School of Music, a few graduate students. Hudson is prof. of Ec. there.

Beals was here last week. He is pushing the Nation. Says the circulation has quadrupled since they became Bolshevist.

As ever,

awc

"A. W. C." is Prof. Arthur W. Calhoun (then of Ohio State University); "Dear Zeuch" is Prof. W. E. Zeuch, then of the University of Minnesota,—now teaching at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

INTER-COLLEGIATE SOCIALISTS

On the ninth floor of the office building at No. 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, you will find the headquarters of the Inter-collegiate Socialist Society,—organized more than ten years ago by a group of socialist professors and college graduates for the purpose of spreading radical propaganda in the schools and colleges of America. Their quarters are not large, so, when an important conference is desired, the socialist professors and their co-workers foregather at the "Inn-in-the-hills," a cozy and secluded resort hotel at Highland, N. Y.,—a little ways up the Hudson. *It was at one of these conferences* (June 24-30, 1919) *that the first effort was made to combine the various radical forces and political malcontents in America.* The idea was called "The Committee of 48."

Lenin's thumb-print was on the birth certificate of the "Committee of 48"—an infant political cure-all which appealed for converts—and cash—but which blew up at Chicago early last summer.

The waif would have died at birth, had not Lajpat Rai of India breathed into its lungs the unrest of Asia. America's leading radicals served as wet nurses—and it was palmed off as a child of political respectability.

There is so much economic wood alcohol being peddled these days — so much political moonshine — that we have acquired the habit of analyzing and investigating. These are days when liberty loving men and women must read thoroly and think clearly, for the world is in crisis.

So let us pull off the mask from this Committee of 48.

One word that bobs up every five minutes in a socialist meeting was quite popular at that Highland, N. Y., conference of the collegiate socialists,—the word *"ultimates."* You remember in that remarkable letter Professor Calhoun wrote to Professor Zeuch, Calhoun said: "I am less interested in the verbiage of the Left Wing (Communist Labor Party), than in the idea of keeping *ultimates* everlastingly in the center of attention, to the exclusion of *mere puttering reforms."* Well, this group at Highland agreed that the radical organizations would keep agitating for the "ultimates," but that the "new party" would go out for "mere puttering reforms," as the

opening wedge. Let us keep this clear in our minds while we examine the *personnel* of the meeting.

LENIN'S REPRESENTATIVE

The real busy little talker was Albert Rhys Williams. He dominated that Intercollegiate Socialist Society conference and was made chairman of the special committee to draft the plan of action. The other members of this committee were Lajpat Rai, Albert DeSilva, Anna Strunsky Walling and Swinburn Hale. Perhaps these names mean nothing to you; but if you have followed the development of radical thought for the past four years, these names will mean much.

Albert Rhys Williams is the confidante of Lenin and Trotsky, and it is through Williams that the Russian soviet government got its hand in the game. Williams is a newspaper writer and was in Russia when the autocracy of the proletariat was established, under Lenin. Williams, with John Reed and Boris Reinstein, constituted the Bolshevist Propaganda Bureau—maintained headquarters in Petrograd, and, of course, were in the pay of the Soviet government. Reed became a fugitive from justice, having been indicted at Chicago for criminal anarchy. He died last October in Moscow, of typhoid. After the armistice, Williams returned to America to bring about a combination of all radicals. The "Committee of 48" was his "delivery of the goods."

Lajpat Rai, another member of the original committee that planned the Committee of 48, is an East Indian and a radical writer. His book, "England's Debt to India," was suppressed in this country under our Espionage Act. He is the accepted representative in the United States of the "proletariat" of India.

When Albert Rhys Williams' special committee finished its job and was ready to report, a second conference was called to meet at the headquarters of the American Civil Liberties Bureau, 41 Union Square, New York City, on August 29, 1919. It was this bureau that inserted a full page advertisement in "The Liberator" for funds to help *alien deportees*. Roger Baldwin—the first director of the bureau—served one year in jail for failing to register in the draft.

Let us look around the room at 41 Union Square, and see who were present at this conference to perfect plans for the Committee of 48. The list includes Jos. Gilbert, of St. Paul, general manager of the Non-Partisan League; Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of *The Nation;* Robert M. Buck, editor of *The New Majority*—Chicago's radical weekly; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a prolific writer of I. W. W. literature; Morris Hilquit, New York socialist, born in Riga, Russia, and an official representative in America of the Soviet Bureau; Lincoln Colcord, associate editor of *The Nation;* Professor Scott Nearing, radical agitator; Seymour Stedman, attorney, whose specialty for years has been defending I. W. W.'s, communists and radical socialists, and who was retained to defend the communists recently convicted at Chicago; Allen McCurdy, associate editor of *The Nation;* Crystal Eastman, editor of *The Liberator;* Albert Rhys Williams; Walter Nelles, representing the American Civil Liberties Bureau; James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor; Rev. A. J. Muste, national organizer, Amalgamated Textile Workers' Union; Rose Schneiderman, president Woman's Trade Union League—and a dozen others.

ADVOCATES SABOTAGE

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn is the Joan d'Arc of the I. W. W. She is closely associated with Big Bill Haywood and goes with him whenever he speaks to foreigners who do not understand our language. She translates Haywood's speeches—makes I. W. W. speeches of her own, and writes books to prove that the pleasant little habit of sabotage is something all workers should acquire. She had authority to pledge Haywood's co-operation in promoting the Committee of 48. I have some of Miss Flynn's books on my desk. Let me quote from her "Sabotage":

"I advocate sabotage. I am not going to attempt to justify sabotage on any moral ground. If the workers consider sabotage is necessary—that in itself makes sabotage moral. *Its necessity is its excuse for existence.*"

Sitting next to Miss Flynn was Joe Gilbert, now of the Nonpartisan League, but who, back in 1905, was one of the delegates to the first convention of the I. W. W. at Chicago and who helped place William D. Haywood in nomination. A. C. Townley, who is president of the Nonpartisan League in North Dakota and Minnesota, was state organizer for the Socialist Party in North Dakota before taking hold of the League. There are many very close connections in the leadership of the I. W. W., the Socialist Party, and the Nonpartisan League.

CONDEMNED BY GOMPERS

Next to Gilbert was Oswald Garrison Villard, publisher of *The Nation*—all of which makes an interesting trio. President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, in the February (1920) number of *The Federationist*, condemns Bolshevism quite severely and laments publicly the dangerous radical influence "of those so-called journals of opinion, such as *The Nation, The New Republic,* and *The Dial.*"

L. S. Gannett, graduate of Harvard, who was a member of the Highland conference, now an associate editor of *The Nation,* in the issue of *The Nation* for October 20, 1920, contributes a very interesting apology for the I. W. W. and endeavors to absolve them from all vicious intent and wrong doing.

Remember that letter by Professor Calhoun, the last sentence of which was: "Beals was here last week; he is pushing *The Nation* and says the circulation has quadrupled since they became *Bolshevist.*" Naturally the publisher of *The Nation* was not going to let the tag ends of radicalism of this country get together without his own influence being felt.

Allen McCurdy sat next to Villard. A news writer in the St. Louis Post Dispatch had this to say of Allen McCurdy: "McCurdy was a Presbyterian minister, until as he says, he began to take religion too seriously. Now he is on the editorial staff of *The Nation.* He is much sought by movements desiring snap in their public proceedings." Lincoln Colcord, sitting next to McCurdy, was also a member of the editorial staff of *The Nation.*

We find "Bob" Buck sitting next to Colcord. Buck is editor of *"New Majority,"* official weekly paper of the Chicago Federation of Labor. Fitzpatrick, of steel strike notoriety, is president of the Chicago Federation, and under his leadership that organization protested against deporting alien radicals.

Fitzpatrick, in 1908 was nominated as a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

THE PROFESSORS "SIGNED"

This, then, was the group created at the "Inn-in-the-Hills," *under the intellectual guidance of the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society.* National headquarters were immediately established at No. 15 East Fortieth Street, New York City, and a call issued for a national conference, to be held at St. Louis last December. There are some three hundred names, officially published by the Committee of 48, as *signers* of the "Call." This list includes the following professors: (I quote *exactly.*)

"Prof. G. G. Benjamin, Iowa; Prof. Geo. A. Coe, N. Y.; Prof. Clarence M. Case, Iowa; Prof. Frank T. Carlton, Mich.; Prof. Durant Drake, N. Y.; Prof. Leonard Fox, North Carolina; Prof. Lawrence E. Griffin, Penn.; Prof. Robert Herrick, Ill.; Prof. M. H. Hedges, Wis.; Prof. David Starr Jordan, Cal.; Prof. Isidore Kayfetz, N. Y.; Prof. Kenneth S. Latourette, Ohio; Prof. H. G. Moulton, Ill.; Prof. H. L. McCracken, Iowa; Prof. William F. Ogburn, D. C.; Prof. George McCready Price, Cal.; Prof. Roscoe Pound, Mass.; Prof. George Rebec, Ore.; Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell, N. Y.; Prof. A. M. Schlesinger, Ohio; Prof. J. W. Stimson, Cal.; Prof. Donald R. Taft, Ohio; Prof. N. R. Whitney, Iowa; Prof. George B. Zug, N. H."

I have a letter from Professor John Smertenka of Grinnell College, Iowa, in which he declares that more than *two thousand* professors in the United States were active in the attempted organization of the Committee of 48.

One would think after the Chicago fiasco of the Committee of 48 that even the pink professors would give up their ambition to amalgamate the radicals of America for an intensive campaign against our form of government. But, on the contrary, I am assured by no less an authority than Harry W. Laidler, A. M., Ph. D., of Wesleyan University,

editor of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society's official monthly publication, *The Socialist Review*, that "concrete plans for (radical) cooperation must wait for future developments."

Just to show that the pink collegians have not lost heart, another conference was called at that secluded "Inn-in-the-Hills," at Highland, N. Y., June 22 to 28, 1920. In addition to the usual group of distinguished educators, and other college men and women, there were present the following "guests of honor":

"GUESTS OF HONOR"

Jack Beyer, for fifteen years a leader of and organizer for the I. W. W., confidential lieutenant of Big Bill Haywood, and recently released from Leavenworth penitentiary. Beyer has been working with "Red" Doran in New York City, collecting money for the defense of members of the I. W. W. charged with various crimes against the United States, such as the murder of our soldier boys at Centralia;

Robert Minor, an American, a confessed Bolshevist, a defender of Tom Mooney,—and who was arrested by the American military authorities at Coblenz, Germany, for distributing Bolshevist literature amongst American troops, with a view to inciting mutiny;

I. Hourwich and Gregory Zilboorg,—both Russians and direct representatives of the Soviet Bureau;

Ben Legere, of Winnipeg, international organizer for the One Big Union, and now secretary of the Textile Workers' Union at Lawrence, Mass.

Gertrude Nafe, organizer for the United Communist Party;

W. W. Liggett, propagandist for the Nonpartisan League of North Dakota;

Swinburne Hale, of the executive committee of the Committee of 48, and a lawyer who has been acting as attorney for "deportees;"

Mary Gawthorpe, organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union;

A. J. Muste, formerly a clergyman in Massachusetts and now secretary and director of the Amalgamated Textile Workers' Union;

Anna Strunsky (Walling), sister of Rose Strunsky, and leader of women radicals in New York City;

Griffin Barry, associate editor of the London *Herald*,—the English radical daily newspaper which was tendered a gift of $375,000 by the Soviet Propaganda Bureau for "services rendered"—but which gift was refused by reason of an aroused public sentiment;

Joseph D. Cannon, a leader of the radical wing of the American Federation of Labor;

Vijaya Rao, an East Indian agitator and affiliated with the British Labor Party;

Louis Boudin, leading disciple and proponent of the Karl Marx school of extreme socialism;

W. W. Lefeaux, socialist leader in the Winnipeg "soviet" strike;

Roger Baldwin and Earl Humphries, both of whom have served time in prison as conscientious objectors,—and,

Alex Trachtenberg and Algernon Lee, both directors of the Rand Socialist School at New York City.

The remainder of the two hundred delegates who registered at that remarkable conference at the "Inn-in-the-Hills" were mostly professors, ex-professors and collegians who are now actively aiding the radicals. For instance, Evans Clark, professor at Princeton University but more recently confidential advisor to the Soviet Bureau and *in its pay*, presided at one of the sessions.

CORNELL REPRESENTED

Professor Nathaniel Schmidt of Cornell University was an active participant in the conferences,—as was Harriett Stanton Blatch, of New York City, suffrage leader and a member of the Socialist party. Mrs. Blatch, in addressing the delegates, said: "I do not want to be considered a radical of the *right* wing, for I belong to the radicals of the *left*."

The above pronouncement by Mrs. Blatch is particularly interesting when taken in connection with current advertising of "Books for Women". *The Weekly Review* (New York), October 27, 1920, page 389, carries a half-page advertisement by "The Woman's Press", calling particular attention

to the latest book by Mrs. Blatch, entitled, "A Woman's Point of View: Some Roads to Peace". The publishers further announce that this book is "a record of facts with constructive conclusion and a strong program for progress by one of America's foremost thinking women".

Here, then, is another evidence of the subtlety of the work that is going on.

I have in my possession the *official* report of that six-day conference, written by Laidler. Here are some of its highlights:

"We demonstrated that *liberals* and *radicals* of every stripe can meet together amicably and can discuss fully their divergent programs for *social progress*. We came to no explicit agreement as to how these respective groups of radicals could best cooperate. * * * A number of these movements have not as yet found themselves. Concrete plans for cooperation must wait for future developments. * * * This first free forum of all the important liberal and radical groups was a distinct success.

"Zilboorg declared that our choice now lay between the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia and the dictatorship of reaction; and that it was the duty of socialists to support the *former*."

Laidler quotes Hourwich of the Soviet Bureau as defending the Bolshevik program in toto and predicting for it a permanent success. Says Hourwich: "There remains (in Russia) only a very small group of dissatisfied capitalists and professional people,—and these lack the economic strength necessary to overthrow the (Soviet) government."

Prof. Evans Clark, (who, by the way, now registers as of Amherst College) protested against America helping the anti-Bolsheviks,—especially the Poles. Arthur Gleason, president of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, declared that "the workers are tired of producing for private profit."

REV. MUSTE SPEAKS

Rev. A. J. Muste is quoted as stating that all labor unions have for their objective "the overthrow of the existing order of society." And, now listen to this,—from Muste:

"The older unions have the advantage—they are not subject to such wide-spread attacks as are those which publish their *revolutionary* aims. One of the problems before the labor movement is that of stating, in American language, the functions of *revolutionary unionism*. Radicals should not *needlessly* sabotage. Radical unions should guard against the setting up of rival organizations, but, on the other hand, they should not go into the American Federation of Labor, *except on their own terms*. The radical labor movement must beware of going off half-cocked."

Of course Jack Beyer, of the I. W. W., boosted his organization and outlined its affiliation with the One Big Union. He boasted of tying up the water-front at Philadelphia through the membership of "7000 negroes and whites" and declared the I. W. W. has 260,000 members in good standing,—and is growing fast.

Laidler quotes Cannon of the A. F. of L. as saying that Gompers is through and that industry is well on the way to complete socialization. He quotes Swinburne Hale as frankly admitting the Committee of 48 was "a combination of discontented radicals" and that the movement must succeed because America "is now run by a soviet of bankers and lawyers. We demand a government that will protect the *privilege of the workers.*"

REPRESENTS "LEFT WING"

Trachtenberg was going good at that conference. He represented the left wing and declared the "lefts" to be in control of the party. Laidler thus quotes Trachtenberg:

"Capitalism is breaking up; social revolution has already begun; we must prepare the mass of workers for the great change. *When the revolution comes* there must be dictatorship of the proletariat during the transitional period—and *the workers alone must be in control.* We must get into the industrial struggle and ally ourselves with the labor movement, urging workers to secure as much control as possible in industry—and train themselves now for problems of management.

"We should affiliate with the Third Internationale of Moscow."

Algernon Lee, in his speech to the conference, blamed William Randolph Hearst for almost destroying the Socialist Party in 1905, saying that when Hearst organized his "Independence Party," the socialists all flocked to it.

There is a lot more of this kind of stuff in Laidler's official report of the conference,—but why quote it further? You have the stage setting and the list of performers. Participants all ran true to form. You know what they said.

But the last paragraph in Laidler's *official* report of this week's conference I must quote for you verbatim. In reading it you must remember that Zilboorg is the Soviet publicist and that "wobblies" are members of the I. W. W.

"The final meeting adjourned for a marshmallow roast and a 'sing' on the mountainside near 'the ruins,' and listened until past midnight to the Russian folk songs, led by Gregory Zilboorg, and to Jack Beyer's absorbing tales of the wobblies."

How romantic,—and how significant, when compared with the first paragraph in Laidler's report of this conference, which declared its purposes to be discussion of a *"program" for social progress.*

PAUSE—AND THINK

Now,—you who have children attending college,—pause a moment, *and think.* Was the professor who teaches your girl or boy sociology or political economy present at that conference? I do not know,—but do you not think *you* should find out? That is *your* job,—and no one else's.

I have been informed that the Intercollegiate Socialist Society has a total membership of some 11,000, more than 2000 of whom are active members of the teaching forces in our leading schools, colleges and universities.

It would not matter much, however, if there were only 20 professors attending those conferences and subscribing to those principles—if the particular professors who happen to be teaching *your* boy or girl *are among the twenty,*—would it?

One thing for which we must give the socialist professors credit,—they are playing the game in the open. I have mentioned the monthly publication of this Intercollegiate Socialist Society, *"The Socialist Review."* Almost any issue of this magazine teems with this same sort of propaganda. I have before me the issue for August, 1920. The back cover advertisement is by Upton Sinclair, offering his book, "Brass Checks," for sale.

On page 94 I find the names of the editors and their respective colleges, as follows:

"Editor, Harry W. Laidler of Wesleyan; managing editor, W. Harris Crook of Oxford.

"Editorial Board

"James W. Alexander of Princeton
"Evans Clark of Amherst
"H. W. L. Dana of Harvard
"Lewis S. Gannett of Harvard
"Felix Grendon of Columbia
"Jessie Wallace Hughan of Barnard
"Winthrop D. Lane of Michigan
"F. F. Rockwell of Wesleyan
"Alexander Trachtenberg of Trinity

"Contributing Editors

"Louis B. Boudin	Stuart Chase
"Arthur Gleason	Freda Kirchwey
"Rev. John H. Holmes	Florence Kelley
"Jas. H. Maurer	S. Nuorteva
"James Oneal	Rev. N. M. Thomas"

Prof. Dana formerly was on the faculty at Columbia, but with Prof. Cattell, was removed by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler because of anti-American activities. Under date of September 2, 1917, Dr. Butler wrote to Prof. Dana, dismissing him, with the following statement:

"You have, throughout the summer, been in close, public association with individuals and organizations that in one form or another, are striving to weaken the national effort and nullify the national will."

Please keep in mind that this was the first six months during which we were *actively engaged in war* against Germany.

USING THE PULPIT

I already have told you about Prof. Clark and Trachtenberg. Maurer is president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and a pronounced radical. Jimmie Oneal is general manager for the Rand Socialist School at New York. Nuorteva was private secretary to Ludwig A. K. Martens, so-called "soviet ambassador" to the United States; he is a Russian and a recent deportee. The two members of the clergy, Holmes and Thomas, have been identified with this sort of propaganda for some time; Thomas was a witness for the five socialist members of the New York legislature who were twice suspended. Rev. Holmes is an agent for Upton Sinclair's radical publications, and advises his congregation in New York to read Sinclair's writings,—most of which appear in the extreme Socialist newspaper, *The Appeal to Reason.*

Among other sympathetic advertisers in the August number of the *Socialist Review,* we find the Rand School; *Soviet Russia,* official magazine of the Russian Soviet Government; and the Labor Film Service, which offers "dramas, based on the writings of iconoclasts."

The leading article is by Girolamo Valenti, general labor organizer for the Italians in New York City, in which the writer declares Lenin is more popular in Italy than he is in Russia and that Italy is more completely sovietized than any country except Russia. He describes how easily and effectively Italian workers have taken possession of industry and how they can make and un-make governments. He recommends that the American Federation of Labor wake up and describes the easy manner in which socialization of industry can be accomplished through strikes.

Other articles are of the same general trend.

"STUDENT" MEMBERS

I also have before me an application blank for membership in the Inter-collegiate Socialist Society. It mentions "active" members and *"student"* members. Then there is a blank line for the name of the applicant and another blank line for *"college or school."*

And right here—mothers and fathers, and business men generally—is another place to pause—and *think.* Is your boy or girl being importuned to become a member of this society and a subscriber for this magazine? I do not know, but do you not see a very important job looming up before *you?*

It it not a job you can delegate to "George," either; you cannot pass the buck. If you are *too busy,*—all right, forget it,—but unless *you* and *your neighbors* who really believe in America and cherish the right of private property, do give some of your time and thought and money to courageously defending our principles of government—your children may not have to worry about *too much business;* they may get their "ration" tickets from the local socialist commissar.

The evidence could be multiplied almost indefinitely, but if the evidence you have does not warrant shaking off the lethargy, additional evidence would simply be a waste of everybody's time. The founder of the Rand School of Social Science was Professor George Herron, formerly of the faculty of Grinnell College, Iowa. The most brilliant propagandist in the radical ranks today is Professor Scott Nearing, who was relieved of his job at Toledo University, because of his economic unsoundness. Professor Kirkpatrick, of Chicago, is the author of some of the most destructive radical literature of the day.

Helen Pratt Judd, for fifteen years a teacher in the Wicker Park School at Chicago, was one of the group recently tried at Chicago, as members of the Communist Labor Party and charged with advocating the forceful overthrow of the government. Mrs. Judd was secretary of one of the Communist Labor branches.

O. J. Arness was a teacher in the South High School at Minneapolis,—with decided radical tendencies. He was discovered to be a member of the I. W. W., in good standing, was ousted from the high school and is now chief clerk to the Trades and Labor Defense Committee.

Frederic C. Howe, who was removed as Immigration Commissioner at the Port of New York, because of his very

friendly and very cordial relations with Emma Goldman and other comrades", was formerly a lecturer at the Universities of Wisconsin and California. He then became publicity manager for the Plumb Plan League. He was one of the charter members of the Committee of 48.

James H. Collins, of the staff of the *Saturday Evening Post*, in that periodical, (issue November 20, 1920) pays his respects to radicalism generally and has this to say, concerning the efforts being made to bore into the class rooms:

"The spread of radicalism in our colleges is perhaps most marked of all. The cartoon type of radical, with his whiskers and bomb, has a very limited field of activity—any policeman would arrest him on sight. The college radical, on the contrary, can move in every circle. It is not easy to explain him. Sometimes he is a self-seeker and loves notoriety. Again, his hostility to society is based on envy. Ambitious, but lacking energy, he hates people who succeed through energy, and sours on life. Some of this intellectual radicalism is attributed to the materialism of the age, socialism and similar philosophies being based on the material concept of history. Other observers charge it up to slipshod teaching of history and economics, students lacking the solid grounding that would put superficial radical theories in proper perspective. * * *

"The teachings of a radical college professor may have great influence. In one college recently some of the students made a demonstration when a radical professor was dropped from the faculty. * * *

"We regard the parlor Bolshevist, like the soap-box orator, with amused tolerance. Yet he is dangerous in two ways: First, as an out-and-out revolutionist who will take your property if he gets a chance, enslave or kill you and demonstrate his philosophy along Russian lines generally—though apart from this he may be a very likable fellow. Second, if not an out-and-out revolutionist, then he illustrates the strong intellectual appeal of radical philosophies. These are penetrating many quiet places by means of radical books and periodicals, and often crop up among teachers, clergymen and other leaders of normal American communities. * * *

"Never having worked with his hands, nor mingled with wage earners, nor been creative or constructive in any way himself, the intellectual radical sees nothing difficult in the revolutionary program of first tearing everything down and then building from the ground up, entirely new."

The following paragraph is copied from "The Railsplitter"—published weekly by the journalism class of the Lincoln High School, Los Angeles—under date of November 12, 1920: "Mr. Editor:

"Are we coming to school to learn Anarchy or Bolshevism? That is not what I am coming for, but there is a certain teacher here that spends most of her time trying to stir up a hatred between the two great classes of our country, namely: Labor and Capital. She says that America is behind the times and then she named several countries, such as Italy, Russia and Germany, that are strictly up to date and were making progress. There is a revolution or civil war in each one of these countries.

"L. B. R."

PLAN IS INTERNATIONAL

Do not think that this campaign among professors is confined to America; it is distinctly international, as are all of the other active branches of the radical movement. At the last meeting of the International Congress of Socialist Students and Graduates, Professor Enrico Ferri, of the University of Palermo, in addressing the delegates, said:

"We should introduce socialism into the student's mind as a part of science, as a logical and necessary culmination of the biological and sociological science. No need of making a direct propaganda which would frighten many of the listeners. *Without pronouncing the word 'Socialism' once a year, I make two-thirds of our students socialists.*"

Just to show that this "indirect" program is becoming quite prevalent even in the United States,—there is an advertisement on page 488 of the issue of *"The Nation"* of October 27, 1920, by Charles H. Kerr and Co., publishers of radical propaganda in Chicago. Note that the word "socialism"

is not used at all. Here is the exact wording of the advertisement:

"Correspondence courses in applied Marxian economics, in fifteen lessons. We supply study booklets and aid union locals in analyzing their own industries. Special offers to clubs. The labor leaders who are beginning to stand out all over the world are those who are applying Marx to industry."

Clever, isn't it? Bolshevism is simply Marxian socialism, plus force. It is the *subtle* campaign we must fight in this country.

Federal Judge Martin J. Wade, of Iowa, in addressing the South Dakota Bar Association at its annual meeting, said:

"Chief Justice White of the Supreme Court of the United States, tells us of a distinguished public man who had just been delivering, in one of our great American universities, a series of lectures on 'Our Constitutional System of Government.' He said to me, 'I was surprised to have one of my listeners—a student far advanced in his university life—say "It gave me so much pleasure to hear your lectures, for they were the *first kindly words I have heard said about our government* since the commencement of my university career."'

"Justice White further said: 'I recollect, myself, a few years ago, being in the atmosphere of a university, and, feeling that there existed among the student body either a profound apathy—or a great misapprehension as to our government—the division of powers which it created, and the limitations which it embraced, and in mentioning this impression to one quite familiar with the environment, I was surprised to hear him say, "Oh, yes, you are quite right—that is the impression which here prevails; indeed, I think it comes from the state of mind of the teaching body."'"

LET US RECAPITULATE

President Grose of DePauw was shown a copy of Professor Calhoun's letter, and so were the trustees at Ohio State University. Prof. Calhoun was relieved all the way round and is now down at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, helping conduct a cooperative association that warehouses supplies in times of industrial peace and doles them out to strikers in times of industrial war.

Prof. W. E. Zeuch left the University of Minnesota but was promptly employed by Cornell University, at Ithaca, N. Y. He was incensed at me for having made public the contents of Prof. Calhoun's letter, and I have on my desk a letter from Prof. Zeuch, dated at Cornell University. I believe this letter presents quite clearly the magnitude of the task that some real Americans have got to tackle *sooner or later.* Here are extracts from Prof. Zeuch's letter to me:

"First of all, allow me to thank you for making Socialism an issue; it is the greatest political force in the world today. If we look to Europe, we find Russia, a socialist soviet republic, triumphant over all enemies, internal or external. Germany is under the control of Socialists; Italy, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden are receiving dictation from powerful socialist groups. France increased her socialist vote a half million in the last election and now has a thirty per cent radical electorate. England will soon have a labor government which accepts the principles of Socialism. Other nations on the continent are in similar condition. In Asia a new Chinese student movement accepts the socialist view and hopes for the success of Bolshevism in Siberia. In Japan radical doctrines have been given a tremendous impetus within the last few years. In South America the Socialists are organized, and are especially strong in Argentine.

"IDIOCY FOR AMERICA"

"So it goes, no matter what part of the world we survey. In an era so permeated with this doctrine, *it would be the part of idiocy for America to attempt to remain isolated and ignorant.* The socialists thrive upon intelligent criticism, and I am sure no group will be more pleased than they with your attempt to expose their doctrine.

"I hold that Dr. Calhoun has the right, under our laws, to advocate any idea that he feels just. If there is any place in America where the free play of ideas should not only be permitted but encouraged, it is in our universities. *When you drive a socialist out of the university you throw him into the*

radical movement. Instead of having an audience of a few students, he reaches hundreds through the platform and thousands through the press and pamphlets. This has happened in this country time and time again: Professors Nearing, Kirkpatrick, Clark, Calhoun and Sims *are doing a thousand times more to undermine capitalism, outside of the university than they did in it.* Schools for workers are springing up in our cities and are being taught by these fired professors. They are educating the *labor leadership that will be in control of this nation in the next decade.* The more of them you get fired, the better. Keep up the good work.

"I am in favor of a world *for, of and by the workers.* Divisions among socialists are all over the method of accomplishment. Some would carry on a campaign of education and persuasion among all the people and work through political action; others would organize the key industries of each country and by means of a general strike *force* the nation to accept that policy; still others would combine both the political and the economic weapons. *As for myself, I am a guild socialist."*

What are we going to do about it? This is a free country, you know,—freedom of thought and speech and all that sort of thing. If all the professors in all the universities in America would start teaching nothing but socialism tomorrow, there would be no legal recourse. Furthermore, no thoughtful American wants any *legal* recourse against propaganda or teaching of this sort. The professors as individuals have a perfect right in America to put their doctrines over, if they can, but it is not in keeping with the American spirit to have this sort of economics taught to our boys and girls, and *I do not believe that the fathers and mothers of the boys and girls who are attending school in America are going to stand for it.*

COULD YOU DEBATE IT?

The Socialist propaganda must be intelligently opposed. If any one of these professors was to announce that he would address a public meeting in *your* town and challenge any citizen in *your* community to debate extreme socialism with him,—you could not find any one within a hundred miles who knows enough about socialism to take a chance.

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